

# Human Security as a Political Strategy: The Road to Peace?

## *The Role of the EU in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Lubica Rozborová



Master's Thesis  
Peace and Conflict Studies

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

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# Abstract

The aim of this master's thesis is to study the concept of human security in a relationship with peace. Human security has the power to shape political discourse, and its contents, components as well as relation to other interlinked concepts have been continuously developed in the United Nations, in academia and within various policy institutes and non-governmental networks. The aim of this master's thesis is to enrich the existing debate and question whether a foreign policy based on human security notion is aiming for achieving peace using a concrete example of the European Union actions in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The first section of this master's thesis will research the content, the components as well as the most commonly used interpretations of human security. Further on, it will present the concept's development within the United Nations structure and scrutinize the concept in relation to other interlinked concepts, namely: state security, development, human rights, and peace, in order to determine the concept's position and to analyse the consistency with peace as well as in order to create a theoretical framework. Then, an overview of the various possible employments of human security in political discourse will follow. The second section of this master's thesis will study the strategic documents on which is the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union founded within the human security framework in order to assess the extent to which is the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union based on the notion of human security, using the example of the European Union's actions in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



# Preface

My interest in the Balkans started during my bachelor's degree and my academic stay at the London School of Economics encouraged me towards studying further the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. Later, at the University of Oslo, I found the Dayton Accords and the current institutional design in Bosnia and Herzegovina a very important field of research and I have continued to pursue this interest further.

This master's thesis is inspired to a small degree by my previous coursework in the Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies. The research I have conducted for my course paper for the Right to Peace served as a foundation for chapter two (Human Security) of this thesis.

I would like to thank my supervisor.

Great thanks goes to all who read my drafts over and over with patience and to all of those who were encouraging me, discussing the content, and debating with me.

I would like to thank my parents for teaching me what justice and solidarity means and for everything else because without them, and their eternal support and love, none of this would be possible.

A great thank you goes to my fiancé who was by my side and who was encouraging me during the whole process.





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# **1. Introduction**

## **1.1. Scope and Objective**

Researchers, philosophers, and scholars as well as writers have been trying to figure out the right path to eliminate human suffering for centuries. For as long as man has considered questions about his station in the world and his ability to control his own destiny, so long has he questioned the guiding principles, motivation, and role of war, peace, and security. In spite of human security being a relatively recently elaborated concept, the roots can be tracked down through the chronicles of human philosophy and struggle for peace.

The aim of this master's thesis is to study the concept of human security in a relationship with peace. Human security has the power to shape political discourse, and its contents, components as well as relation to other interlinked concepts have been continuously developed in the United Nations (UN), in academia and within various policy institutes and non-governmental networks. The aim of this master's thesis is to enrich the existing debate on this topic and its main concern will be to question whether a foreign policy based on the human security notion would aim for achieving peace. This thesis will be using a concrete example of the European Union (EU) actions in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH).

Human security's main concern is an individual and his/her security. Simply put, if we achieve security for every human being, we achieve national, regional, and thus global security and stability. Human security has an interdisciplinary approach towards security. At the beginning of the elaboration of this people-centred approach towards security, it was generally assumed that it challenged the traditional security approach which recognizes the achievement of state security from external threats as the only way to achieve a globally secure world. Moreover, the advancement of this concept in the mainstream security research was often labelled as a paradigm shift in security studies (Kaldor et.al. 2007; Paris 2001). However, after further and deeper elaboration of the content and employment of this human-centred concept, it is accurate to conclude, that state security and human security approaches do not exclude each other. Even more, they are mutually dependent and complementary.

Human security is based on the premise that no secure and peaceful state exists with insecure people living in it. The focus of this concept is on an individual and his/her security while being defined by a universal character and the ability to interlink security issues with human rights, development, and most importantly for our research, with peace.

Human security is characterized by a set of three freedoms: freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity. The first two mentioned freedoms were introduced as integrated components of human security by the 1994 United Nations Human Development Report (UNDP 1994). Freedom from fear indicates, broadly speaking, the idea of freedom from violence, and freedom from want represents freedom from poverty. Freedom to live in dignity was introduced as an integrated component recently by the Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General (UN 2012: III.18; A/66/763).

Human security has a very promising capability to reach various relevant areas of concern for peace and security. As Oberleitner (2005:198) argues, it has the potential to become a new organizing principle of international relations and it will continue to contribute to normative changes in the international legal order. Moreover, the various possible operationalizations of this concept, ranging from notion, theory, and vision, to political agenda or strategy, increase the potential to reach various fields and areas and largely influence international relations.

Political strategies, statements, and consequent actions can be based on human security in various manners. Political actors can employ the notion of human security in two distinct but not mutually exclusive ways: through their declarations, statements, strategies, or simply what is said and written about it (hereinafter “lexis”) and/or by the means of concrete political actions (hereinafter “praxis”). Moreover, this concept can be used and employed substantially, in which case the actor actually clearly declares its strategy or action to be based on the notion of human security, or partially, when the actor employs only certain components of human security.

The EU has undergone many reforms in terms of the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) with the aim to become a respected global actor. One of the most crucial tasks for the EU has been to create institutions and

mechanisms which would allow it to act as a unified international player speaking with one common voice towards third parties.

BiH became a potential candidate country for the EU accession in 2003. The EU is using the well-known carrot-and-stick strategies stemming from the application of membership conditionality. Additionally, the EU clearly promotes certain normative notions of appropriate behaviour. The EU continues to be present in BiH through the EU Special Representative, the Delegation of the EU and EUFOR Althea, a military operation. Moreover, BiH is a beneficiary of various EU financial mechanisms. The EU's position remains powerful. However, facing very complicated country specifications remains challenging, in terms of complicated institutional design, political instability, historical grievances and the high unemployment rate.

The human security concept has indeed a very promising potential to shape international relations, policies of various states, organisations, and non-state actors. Human security is claimed to be a new security narrative and a basis of discursive and operating principles for the EU's CFSP (Kaldor et.al. 2007). The objective of this master's thesis is to scrutinize the basis for human security in the EU's lexis and to research to what extent human security constitutes a basis for the EU's actions in BiH, a potential candidate country with a history charred by a devastating war.

The first section of this master's thesis will research the content, the components and the most commonly used interpretations of human security. Further on, it will briefly present the concept's development within the United Nations (UN) structure and scrutinize the concept in relation to other interlinked concepts, namely state security, development, human rights, and peace, in order to determine the concept's position, to analyse the compatibility with peace, and to create a theoretical framework. Then, an overview of the various possible employments of human security in political discourse will follow. The second section of this master's thesis will study the CFSP of the EU within the theoretical framework created in the first section in order to assess the extent to which the CFSP of the EU is based on the notion of human security using the example of the EU's actions in BiH.

## 1.2. Operationalization and Methodology

Human security represents an umbrella concept. Therefore, it is impossible to agree on a unified definition. The concept of human security may be approached, used, and defined in slightly varied styles and modes according to the aim and purpose. A very good illustration of this trend is Alkire's (2003) attempt to provide a coherent conceptual framework for human security. She provides her own working definition of human security while being able to give five more valuable alternatives. This master's thesis will rely on her working definition:

The objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long term human fulfilment. (Alkire 2003:2)

This master's thesis understands peace as a vision of a fair global society while relying on Galtung's (1969) conceptualization of peace as the absence of direct as well as structural violence.

Human rights are understood in this thesis as a set of legal norms founded on idealistic values; they are global in nature and belong to every human being, regardless of gender, colour, race, ethnicity, religion, or regional and geographical background. This master's thesis understands human rights as universal and embodied in international legal instruments. When mentioning human rights, this thesis has in mind international legal norms embraced in the International Bill of Rights which consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

This master's thesis is a qualitative research study which consists of two sections. The first section will answer the research question *to what extent is the concept of human security consistent with the concept of peace*. The second section will investigate *how and to what extent does the European Union employ human security through the framework of Common Foreign and Security Policy in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

Two hypotheses will be tested:

*H1: The concept of human security is consistent with the concept of peace.*

*H2: The actions of the EU in BiH contribute to the treatment of threats to human security, and therefore contribute to the achievement of peace.*

Various methods of research will be employed for this study. The first chapter of this master's thesis will study the interpretations, components, and content of human security through a systematic research and analysis of relevant contributions of scholars and political institutes. An overview of the development of the concept in the UN will follow which will focus on a study of relevant documents published by the UN. The relation with other interlinked concepts: state security, development, human rights, and peace, will be a crucial step for this study in order to answer the first research question and test H1. This section will also contribute towards the creation of a theoretical framework. In order to answer the second research question, an overview of the possible usage of the human security concept in political discourse constitutes crucial advancement for this study. Further on, it is crucial to analyse whether and to what extent human security has any basis in the strategic documents which define the CFSP of the EU. Therefore, for the study of the Treaty of Lisbon and the European Security Strategy a brief content analysis will be employed in order to study the content compatibility with the human security concept as conceptualized in the first section of this thesis. Ole Holsti (1969) offers a broad definition of content analysis as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. This master's thesis will systematically identify the content of these two mentioned documents in order to study the compatibility with human security's components, as identified in the first section where the theoretical framework will be founded. In order to answer the second research question and test H2, it is crucial to get an overview of the existing threats towards human security in BiH and to scrutinize to what extent the EU respond to these threats through a systematic research of its actions within the framework of human security.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the concept of human security in order to study to what extent it is consistent with the concept of peace. Human security answers new emerging threats. Therefore, the added value of this research will be to analyse to what

extent can the employment of human security as the leading strategy of a political actor contribute towards the achievement of peace. A concrete example of a concrete political actor will provide an important case study.

### **1.3. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Peace**

According to Richmond (2012), BiH represented an example of a hyper-conservative branch of liberal peace in 1995. Currently, he argues, it represents an example of a conservative branch of peace which is mainly associated with top-down approaches to peacebuilding and development; it is an expression of external interest rather than external concern and responsibility. He also argues that the sustainability of peace is limited, exit of international actors is questionable, peace is a product of force and elite diplomacy and that for this type of peace (conservative peace), the universal form of peace should be aspired to but is unreachable.

In order to start this research and prove the importance of using the case of BiH, it is crucial to provide a brief overview of the historical developments in BiH and the characteristics of the unique institutional design created by the Dayton Accords which, as argued below, also creates obstacles in terms of eliminating any tensions and possible causes of a re-emergence of violence.

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, consisting of three main ethnic groups: Bosnian Muslims 48%, Serbs 37.1%, and Croats 14.3%, declared its independence from the former Yugoslavia on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1992. The country was supposed to be divided between Serbia and Croatia according to the so-called Karadjordjevo agreement between Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milošević. The opinion of the largest ethnic group of Bosnian Muslims, the only loyalist to the Bosnian government and the one most poorly militarily equipped, was not taken into consideration. After the international recognition of the independent BiH, the hostilities emerged. The aim of the Serbian forces was to partition the part of Bosnia mainly settled by Serbs and to create the Greater Serbia. The Bosnian Croats tried to take their own territory with the support from Zagreb and Bosnian Muslims continued to protect the borders as they were designed during the former Yugoslavia. As Lucarelli (2000:72) suggests, the



European response to the Yugoslav conflict was the almost complete absence of preventive action. The Bosnian Croats and Bosnians negotiated an agreement under international pressure and the Bosnian Serbs were essentially forced to join the negotiations by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing in August 1995<sup>1</sup> which was conducted after the Srebrenica massacre<sup>2</sup>. The peace that was reached by the Contact group<sup>3</sup> negotiations led to the Dayton Accords, signed in Dayton, Ohio.<sup>4</sup> The Dayton Accords designed the general framework for peace; among many other important aspects of peace, it defines the borders and provides BiH with the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in its annex 4. Moreover, the Dayton Accords give great power into the hands of the international community in terms of interfering with the domestic affairs of BiH, originally only during the transformation towards democracy process. However, the extensive power of the international community to influence state affairs and decision making in a sovereign state persists. The international community sustains a very strong and crucial position in Bosnia's affairs.

BiH operates under a unique institutional design set up in Dayton Accords which is very often scrutinized and criticized (Beardsley 2008; Belloni 2009; Bose 2002; Chandler 1999; Norris 2008; O'Brien 2005; Nystuen 2005). The Presidency of this multi-ethnic federation consists of three presidents, serving simultaneously. Two of them are elected in the Federation and one in the Republika Srpska, for 4 years term of office, one of them being the Chair of Presidency, on a rotational basis. The Republic

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<sup>1</sup> The NATO bombing in Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Operation Deliberate Force*) was a sustained air campaign conducted by NATO to undermine the military capability of the Army of the Republika Srpska. The operation was carried out between 30<sup>th</sup> of August and 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1995.

<sup>2</sup> The Srebrenica massacre was proven to be an act of genocide by the ICTY judgement: *Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstic* in ¶ 599: "The Trial Chamber has thus concluded that the Prosecution has proven beyond all reasonable doubt that genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war were perpetrated against the Bosnian Muslims, at Srebrenica, in July 1995." This genocide took place during the Bosnian War and more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslims were killed by the Army of Republika Srpska under the command of General Ratko Mladić. It was considered the largest mass killing on European soil since the Second World War.

<sup>3</sup> Countries that had a significant interest about policy-development in Balkans: United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, Germany, and Italy. Representatives of NATO and European Union institutions were usually also present at the Contact group meetings.

<sup>4</sup> The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, known as the Dayton Agreement, Dayton Accords, Paris Protocol or Dayton-Paris Agreement, is the peace agreement which ends the three and a half-year long Bosnian War. It was reached at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio in November 1995. It was formally signed in Paris on the 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1995.

government is represented by the Council of Ministers. Its chairperson is nominated by the Presidency and they appoint their ministers; no more than two thirds of them may come from the same entity. All members of the Council shall be approved by the House of Representatives. The State Parliament consists of two chambers – the House of Representatives (42 members, 2/3 from the Federation, 1/3 from the Republika Srpska) and the House of Peoples (15 members – 5 Croats, 5 Bosnian Muslims and 5 Serbs delegated by the Assemblies of the individual entities).

Since the elections in October 2010, BiH had difficulties to form a government for more than a year. The International Crises group (2011) warned the EU to act in the matter as fast as possible, calling the situation the worst crisis since the war in May 2011.

Currently, BiH is experiencing negative peace which was imposed by the international community. However, it remains vulnerable to various threats to peace. Economic instability, a high level of unemployment, historical grievances, and political instability constitute very important indicators for the evaluation of the current stability in the country. The country remains a fragile state and international actors remain important for preventing a possible failure of the state. The role of the EU has increased since BiH became a potential candidate country.

## **2. Human Security**

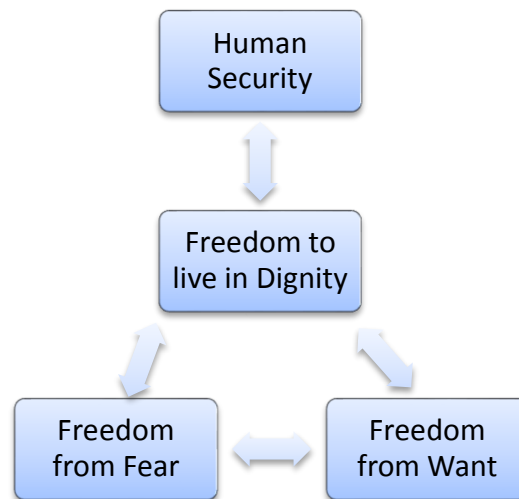
### **2.1. Main Components and Interpretations**

Human security is a concept which focuses on ensuring the security of an individual as a precondition for achieving global security and stability. This concept has been elaborated and deepened as a reaction to the change in understanding security threats as well as a reaction towards new security threats. International wars do not present the only security threat anymore because they were mostly replaced with intrastate conflicts (which of course still have an international or regional impact). Interconnection in a globalized world caused by globalization contributes towards transnational terrorism. Poverty, the challenges towards the environment, and infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS are areas where a threat towards security may be found.

Human security captures the universality, mutual dependence and influence of a set of three freedoms: “freedom from fear” (freedom from violence) and “freedom from want” (freedom from poverty), which were introduced by the United Nations Human Development Report in 1994 (UNDP 1994), and “freedom to live in dignity” which was presented as an integrated component of human security by the Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General in 2012 (UN 2012:III.18; A/66/763). This thesis conceptualizes freedom to live in dignity as an important intermediary link between the achievement of freedom from fear and want, and the achievement of human security. It overlaps between freedom from fear and want. Or in other words, areas of concern for freedom to live in dignity have direct or indirect implications for both remaining freedoms. The relationship among the integrated components of human security and human security which is characterized by mutual influence and interdependence is illustrated in figure 2.1.1.

These three types of freedom are interdependent and universal, which was also confirmed by the Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General:

Human security underscores the universality and interdependence of a set of freedoms that are fundamental to human life: freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity. (UN 2012: III.18; A/66/763)



***Figure 2.1.1 Relationship among Integrated Components of Human Security***

As Tzifakis (2011:353) argues, human security reflects a concern for the security of every individual irrespective of his country or place of residence and thus it is characterized by its universalism. Human security is undoubtedly based on the principle of universalism. However, despite human security's main concern being an individual and his security anywhere in the world, it is necessary to take into account certain regional differences while using the concept of human security as a political agenda, because security threats or vulnerabilities differ across communities. This can be caused by many factors ranging from historical development and economic stability, to government legitimacy and environmental conditions.

The Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General explains that threats which are addressed by human security are not limited to people who live in poverty or conflict but that are faced all around the world by people in developed as well as developing countries:

Human security aims at ensuring the survival, livelihood and dignity of people in response to current and emerging threats — threats that are widespread and cross cutting. Such threats are not limited to those living in absolute poverty or conflict. As evidenced by the recent earthquake and tsunami in east Japan and the financial and economic challenges in Europe and the United States of America, today, people throughout the world, in developing and developed countries alike, live under varied conditions of insecurity. (UN 2012: III.17; A/66/763)

Moreover, this thesis will prove that freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedom to live in dignity are mutually supportive, interconnected, and complementary.

The United Nations Human Development Report lists seven main areas where a threat to human security can be found, as follows: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, political, and community security (UNDP 1994: 24-25).

It is crucial to note, that these areas of security threats are not distinct but rather they influence each other and even overlap in certain situations. However, this thesis will provide few examples of what constitute threats to these security areas (as UNDP refers to them – areas where a threat to human security may be found):

- economic - persistent poverty, unemployment, monopolization of resources
- food - famine
- health - deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care
- environmental - environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters, pollution
- personal - physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence
- political - political repression, human rights abuses
- community - inter-ethnic, religious and other identity based tensions

Various possible interpretations of the concept of human security exist. First, human security may be understood as a theory. Second, human security may be interpreted as a vision of a global society where every individual would be safe from any possible threats to their security. Third, human security may serve as a conceptual or theoretical framework. Fourth, human security may become a leading principle for a political agenda.

First, human security can be understood as a theory which suggests that a secure and stable global order can be achieved through ensuring all three mentioned freedoms (freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedom to live in dignity) to all individual human beings irrespective of their residence while acknowledging regional differences in the nature of vulnerabilities. Moreover, we understand human security

as an umbrella concept which overlaps with the concept of peace, human rights, and human development. The relationship between these interlinked concepts will be elaborated further in this thesis.

Second, human security can be considered as a final stage or as an aim being reached for in order to achieve a secure and stable global society, a utopian vision of a global society where every individual human being would be freed from any threats towards economic, food, health, environmental, personal, political, communal security.

Third, human security can be used as a conceptual or theoretical framework for researchers. It is important to note that human security embodies a multi-disciplinary understanding of security, ranging from security studies to development studies, political sciences, peace and conflict studies, international relations, and human rights. Moreover, human security is very often used as an umbrella or sort of a trademark for research in security studies which does not directly involve the studying of military issues, but which is connected with the issues of security in a broader sense. However, the concept's usefulness and consistency while serving as a theoretical framework is often scrutinized, especially because of the lack of analytical clarity and its wide scope (Newman 2004; Paris 2001). The fact that human security covers a wide range of issues makes the work with the concept challenging and often very difficult to distinguish between independent and dependent variables. At the same time, if a study is labelled as human security research, it tends to choose a particular aspect or a particular component of human security (either freedom from fear or freedom from want or one of the seven security areas where a threat to human security may be found according to UNDP 1994). Consequently, this may cause inconsistency or fragmentation of the research. On the other hand, the fact that human security is wide in scope and reaches multiple security areas makes the concept more powerful and has a very big potential to unify non-military as well as certain military questions of security under a single framework. Using human security as a conceptual framework enables the researchers to reach and question more layers of security threats or existing vulnerabilities. Indeed, when human security is used as a framework for a particular research, the concept's clear and precise operationalization is crucial.

Fourth, human security can be used as a political agenda or political strategy of a concrete country, organisation, or union of states. In this case, human security has the power to shape political discourse and political decisions, and it can consequently become a component or a leading strategy of a concrete political action. In other words, human security has the ability to shape political discourse and it is mostly used in foreign and security policy areas. Human security embodies most of the universally recognised human rights. In cases of using it as a part of a political strategy or agenda, it has the potential to reach places and discussions where the language of universal human rights is inefficient, insufficient, or even obnoxious. At the same time, when it is being used in political discourse, its universal character, i.e. irrespectivity of the individual's residence, empowers the concept even more. Another clear advantage of including human security into political discourse is the concept's large scope and content which enables the political actor to unify various political actions under the agenda of human security. However, Paris (2001:92) understands this broad application as problematic, arguing that moving beyond all-encompassing exhortations and to focus on specific solutions to specific political issues represents a challenge for policymakers. Richmond (2007:132) argues that human security provides a framework to guide non-state and state actors in its achievements.

An important aspect of the human security concept is that it underlines the importance of cooperation in security issues and it recognizes non-state actors as actors that influence security. Oberleitner (2005:196) argues that in the human security concept, military and police are not the only providers of security. Humanitarian organizations, civil society movements, and development organizations might be considered important if not equal agents of security. Jordan (2009:538-548) argues that responses that emphasize only state-centric solutions may be insufficient because states are not the only actors who contribute positively or negatively to the security concerns anymore; IGOs, NGOs, multinational corporations, the media, religious groups, subnational groups, and non-state actors such as violent political opposition groups, terrorist groups, transnational crime networks represent examples of non-state actors in the peace and security arena. Moreover, Dunne and Wheeler (2004:18) explain that the human security discourse recognizes the multidimensionality of the sources of harm.

There are military and non-military producers of harm, national and transnational, private and public.

Many international organisations (e.g. the World Bank<sup>5</sup>) as well as nation states (Norway, Canada, and Japan being the pioneering countries) use and advocate human security in their official documents which shape their policies, and consequently positions, statements, and possibly actions.<sup>6</sup>

An extensive and vivacious debate about human security and its components is still present in international organisations as well as in academia. Indeed, many challenges concerning various possible conceptualizations of human security arise while working with the concept, especially because the content and understanding of human security varies according to its temporal and contextual setting. Werthes and Bosold (2006: 22) explain:

Human security is an amorphous term that is in constant flux. Firstly, because different actors have different understandings of the notion. Secondly, because the meaning is reconstructed and changes through future events that cannot be foreseen.

Moreover, the understanding of security threats changed rapidly since the creation of the United Nations. First, extensive research on causes of violent conflicts has been conducted and the outcomes enabled us to determine various indicators for qualification of the level of security or stability in a region, a state, or a community, in various relations among each other. Even though predictions of violent conflicts are very ambitious and extremely methodologically challenging, the development and elaboration of the body of practices, procedures, and rules currently possessed in the research field on causes of war facilitated the determination of security threats or vulnerabilities as well as their dependency. Second, an extensive amount of research

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<sup>5</sup> The World Bank recognizes the concept of human security. However, in the World Development Report of 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development, the authors emphasized the importance of “citizens security”: “While acknowledging the importance of human security and its emphasis on placing people at the center of focus, this Report uses the term “citizen security” more often to sharpen our focus more on freedom from physical violence and freedom from fear of violence. Our hope is to complement the discussion on the aspect of freedom from fear in the human security concept.” (World Bank 2011: 45)

<sup>6</sup> Various governmental as well as non-governmental networks, platforms and research projects which work with the concept and employment of the concept of human security around the world exist. E.g. Human Security Network (originally created by Canada and Norway); Human Security Report Project (an independent research centre, publishes *Human Security Report*, *Human Security Brief* series, and the *miniAtlas of Human Security*) etc.



on the consequences of violent conflicts, peacemaking, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, conflict prevention, and conflict resolution was conducted.<sup>7</sup> One of the obvious outcomes which became a mantra for security concern is based on the assumption that recovery after violence is extremely challenging and often violence re-emerges. Therefore, early and preventive actions are crucial to conduct. To sum up, after being able to predict the level of stability or security in a region, a state, or a community, and possessing the means to determine possible threats to security, prevention-oriented and context-specific actions are required as the key to global security and stability.

Moreover, in spite of the main purpose of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) being the protection of civilians, the victims of armed conflicts are still beyond any doubt civilians and individuals. International Humanitarian Law is often breached because the supreme state interest is at stake. When states fight for survival they are reluctant to accept any constraints imposed by legal rules (e.g. Kolb and Hyde 2008:283). The advancement of means of war such as the autonomous robotic weapons, employment of private defence contractors or mercenaries and the technologically advancing weaponry made it extremely difficult to ensure the protection of civilians. The IHL

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<sup>7</sup> **Conflict prevention:** This term is used most often to refer to measures taken to keep low-level or long-festering disputes from escalating into violence, synonym: preventive diplomacy.

**Conflict resolution:** Efforts to address the underlying causes of a conflict by finding common interests and overarching goals.

**Peacemaking:** Activities to halt ongoing conflicts and bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter 6 of the Charter of the United Nations: “negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or agreements, or other peaceful means.” Peacemaking typically involves the process of negotiating an agreement between contending parties, often with the help of a third-party mediator. A closely related term is conflict management.

**Peacebuilding:** Originally conceived in the context of *post-conflict recovery* efforts to promote reconciliation and reconstruction, the term Peacebuilding has more recently taken on a broader meaning. It may include providing humanitarian relief, protecting human rights, ensuring security, establishing nonviolent modes of resolving conflicts, fostering reconciliation, providing trauma healing services, repatriating refugees and resettling internally displaced persons, supporting broad-based education, and aiding in economic reconstruction. As such, it also includes conflict prevention in the sense of preventing the recurrence of violence, as well as conflict management and post-conflict recovery. In a larger sense, peacebuilding involves a transformation toward more.

**Peacekeeping:** Traditionally, action undertaken to preserve peace where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers. Typically authorized by the UN Security Council under Chapter 6 or 7 of the UN Charter, these operations usually include lightly armed military personnel and have the consent of the parties. The scope of peacekeeping activities has gradually broadened since the end of the Cold War to include civilian and humanitarian activities such as food distribution, electoral assistance, refugee return and reintegration, civilian protection and prevention of gender-based violence, restoration of transportation and other basic services, and establishing safe havens. In recent years, peacekeepers have been placed in areas where fighting is continuing, and their role is more to position themselves between hostile parties, a situation in which there is often a mismatch between their mandate and their capability. (Snodderly 2011)

enforcement mechanisms are generally weak because of the fact that the entire system of implementation is based on voluntary action and the legal provisions impose duties on the state but do not provide a system of sanctions. Moreover, the aforementioned advancement in weaponry has managed to find gaps in the international legal instruments and therefore even weakened IHL application and enforcement. At the same time, IHL has a very limited scope of application in the currently prevailing type of conflict, the intrastate armed conflicts, because the threshold for IHL application is blurry and rather high.

Moreover, after the end of violence, the conditions for a dignified life are virtually non-existent and the population of the affected region continues to suffer in various other ways (e.g. poverty, lack of access to water, inefficient health care, weak institutions, etc.) which may cause the re-emergence of violence and these conditions may endanger the security and peace of a particular region and consequently global security.

The Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General explains that human security calls for measures based on comprehension, people, context, and prevention:

By identifying how current and emerging threats can translate into broader insecurities, *human security calls for comprehensive, people-centred, context-specific and prevention-oriented actions* that help to improve the capacities of Governments and people to provide early warning, identify root causes and address policy gaps with regard to current and emerging challenges. Together, these actions aim to advance freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity for all. (UN 2012: I. 3; A/66/763; italics added for emphasis)

In order to summarize: first, the research on causes of violent conflicts enabled us to understand security threats in a different manner. Acts of aggression and international wars are no longer considered as the sole security threat and threat to peace. Moreover, a set of indicators for qualification of the level of security or stability is available and these indicators are understood as areas in which a security threat can appear; second, the extensive research on recovery actions and the emergence of new means of war and frequent breaches of IHL provide evidence that prevention is crucial in order to provide security; third, it is crucial to focus on people, citizens, and individuals as the most negatively affected group by any vulnerabilities or security threats.

## **2.2. The Development of Human Security in the UN**

At this point, it is important to briefly review the development of human security in the United Nations, keeping in mind that the UN has been the vanguard of this concept since the 1994 Human Development Report.

It is beyond any doubt that human security became an integrated concept within the UN institutions. This chapter will briefly describe the seven milestones of the development and elaboration of human security.

First, the emergence of human security is marked by the 1994 Human Development Report which understands the concept of human security as universal, people-centred, its components as interdependent, and stresses that it is easier to ensure human security through early prevention (UNDP 1994: 22-23). It also presents the core of the concept as an attempt to ensure freedom from fear and freedom from want for all human beings:

Human security can be said to have two main aspects. It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life-whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development. (UNDP 1994: 23)

The report provides a list of seven main areas where threats to human security may be found: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, political, and community security (UNDP 1994: 24-25).

Second, the UNDP Human Development Report on Globalisation of 1999 returned to the topic of human security. The report argued for deliberate actions to provide human security during economic crises, as well as to reduce other causes of human insecurity such as global crime, environmental degradation, and communication that threatens cultural diversity (because of the lack of diversity in films, languages, as well as lack of norms on violence and pornography, which is prevalent in the media) (as quoted in Alkire 2003: 14; UNDP 1999: 102-104).

Third, Kofi A. Annan has presented a report at the Millennium Summit where he uses this concept as a framework for his report, presenting the ability of the UN to provide freedom from fear and freedom from want to the citizens of the world, as one of the most crucial tasks for the UN in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Annan 2000).

Fourth, the establishment of the Commission on Human Security (CHS) in 2001<sup>8</sup> was another important milestone for further elaboration on the concept of human security. The CHS was created as a direct response to Annan's call for a higher priority in the new century to achieve the twin goals of freedom from want and freedom from fear. Consequently the report "*Human Security Now*" published by the CHS in 2003 deepened the concept and general understanding of various components of human security. Among other important contributions to the concept, the report listed special issues in human security which should be regarded with special attention: hunger, water, population problems (diseases), and environmental issues. (CHS 2001: 14-18) The report discusses six areas where the threats towards human security are present:

- violent conflicts,
- negative consequences of migration,
- recovery from violent conflicts,
- economic security,
- health security, and
- education.

At this point, it is important to briefly scrutinize the differences between the seven areas of threats proposed by the 1994 United Nations Human Development Report (UNHDR) and the six areas listed above by CHS and assess their overlap. Economic and health security threats are covered by both lists. However, while the seven areas of the UNHDR encompass the aims and goals of both freedom from fear and freedom from want without explicitly mentioning violence as an area of threat, the six areas proposed by the CHS are more closely aligned with freedom from fear. Education and negative consequences of migration can be understood as a subset of the UNHDR list of areas of threats. Violent conflicts and recovery from violent conflicts, while arguably entailed implicitly in the UNHDR list, express a rather more articulated focus on the freedom from fear in the CHS list. Focus on these six areas is more in line with the reality of regions emerging from violent conflicts or undergoing a period of recovery or regions where tensions and causes for violent conflicts exist. The

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<sup>8</sup> The independent Commission on Human Security was established of the initiative of the Government of Japan after Kofi Annan's encouragement. It was co-chaired by Amartya Sen and Sadako Ogata.

UNHCR, however, underlines the universality of the character of human security: it can be applied at any time and in any situation with equal strength and force. However, for the purposes of this thesis the list of areas of threats to human security proposed in 1994 in the UNHCR will constitute the foundation of the theoretical framework.

At the same time, the report calls for respect for human rights, humanitarian law, and stresses the need to strike a balance among humanitarian concerns, political issues, military concerns, human rights, and development strategies.

The recommendations of the CHS are supposed to be carried forward by the Advisory Board on Human Security (ABHS) using the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security as one of the tools for doing so.<sup>9</sup>

Fifth, the UN General Assembly resolution titled “2005 World Summit Outcome” adopted in October 2005 (A/RES/60/1) recognized human security as a notion:

We stress the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. We recognize that all individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential. To this end, we commit ourselves to discussing and defining the notion of human security in the General Assembly. (UN GA 2005: Art.143; A/RES/60/1)

Sixth, despite the commitment presented in the UN GA declaration to discuss and define the notion of human security, however promising, it was five years until the UN GA adopted another resolution titled “Follow-up to paragraph 143 on human security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome” which opened the discussion about the content of human security. The UN GA requested the Secretary-General:

...to seek the views of the Member States on the notion of human security, including on a possible definition thereof, and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its sixty-sixth session.” (UN GA 2010; A/RES/64/291)

Seventh, the Follow-up to General Assembly resolution 64/291 on human security - Report of the Secretary-General (hereinafter the Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General) was adopted on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 2012. (A/66/763)

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<sup>9</sup> ABHS is responsible for: general guidelines for the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security; methods to increase the impact of projects and activities funded by the UNTFHS; ways to promote and disseminate the human security approach and deepen its understanding and acceptance worldwide. The ABHS is an independent body composed of thirteen international experts. For more information: <http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/>

This report summarizes the views of states on human security;

...outlines key aspects towards forming a common understanding on the notion of human security; suggests a common understanding on human security, based on the views expressed by Member States; and considers areas where the application of human security can bring added value to the work of the Organization. (UN GA 2012; A/66/763)

Indeed, this report is one of the most important milestones for the human security concept elaboration. It brings together the states' perspectives as well as elaborates and deepens the understanding of the concept. At the same time, it is the most coherent, comprehensive and elaborated summary about the understanding and the content of human security. Moreover, it clears out the blurry position of human security among other interlinked concepts such as state sovereignty, development, peace, and human rights. Additionally, this report enriches the concept of human security with the freedom to live in dignity which contributes to an even greater overlap between the concepts of human rights and human security:

human security underscores the universality and interdependence of a set of freedoms that are fundamental to human life: freedom from fear, freedom from want and *freedom to live in dignity*. (UN GA 2012: III.18; A/66/763; italics added)

Admittedly, there were other important milestones for the emergence and elaboration of the concept of human security in the non-governmental sector and in academia. In academia, these milestones are mostly connected with the content of the human security concept and its place among other concepts in security studies, peace and conflict studies, and development studies. In the case of the non-governmental sector, the pioneer for using human security as a conceptual framework is definitely the Human Security Report Project<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> More information: <http://www.hsrgroup.org/about-hsrp/about-us.aspx>

## **2.3. Relationship with Interlinked Concepts**

Human security is an interdisciplinary concept which may be studied or used in the context of political sciences, international relations, security studies, peace and conflict studies, development studies, and recently also legal studies. In order to understand its position in research, it is important to analyse its relationship with other concepts, most importantly with state security, development, human rights, and peace.

As the Follow - up Report of the UN Secretary-General emphasizes:

Human security emphasizes the interlinkages between security, development and human rights and considers these to be the building blocks of human and, therefore, national security. (UN 2012:III.18; A/66/763)

Human security recognizes the interlinkages between peace, development and human rights. (UN 2012: VII.36 g; A/66/763)

Human security, development, human rights and peace differ in their implementation and practical use. They are usually implemented in different contexts and at different levels. As Alkire (2010:47) argues, these concepts do articulate similar claims in distinct disciplines, literatures, and audiences, and therefore it is not surprising that they are indeed somewhat intertwined, overlapping, and mutually reinforcing parts of the UN institutions. Kaldor (2007:278-279) understands human security, human rights, and human development as different ways of addressing human need. Peace, human security, and human rights have one very important feature in common – their substance will never stop developing and being developed.

### **2.3.1. Human Security and State Security**

UN sources for this chapter which explain the interlinkages between human security, state security, state sovereignty, and Responsibility to protect (RtP) in the most consistent manner are as follows:

- The Charter of the United Nations adopted on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 1945 (hereinafter the UN Charter)
- Follow-up to General Assembly resolution 64/291 on human security - Report of the Secretary-General (the Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General) adopted on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 2012 (A/66/763)

- United Nations General Assembly Resolution - Follow-up to paragraph 143 on human security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome (hereinafter the UN GA resolution) adopted on the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 2012 (A/RES/66/290)

At the beginning of deeper elaboration and conceptualization of human security, human security was often perceived as being in opposition to the traditional national security thinking and the mainstreaming and further developments of its content was considered a paradigm shift in security studies (Paris 2001; Kaldor et al. 2007).

The traditional national or state security approach claims that a secure world can be achieved through securing the territory of a state from external threats, ranging in interpretation from its people to its boundaries, institutions, and values. However, as Fakiolas (2011) argues, it is currently generally agreed that human security does not replace national security but rather these two concepts are interdependent and mutually supportive.

The fact that human security and state security are mutually dependent and complementary was also confirmed by the Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General on human security:

Human security ... does not replace State security. On the contrary, human security and State security are mutually dependent and complementary. Without human security, State security cannot be attained and vice versa. (UN 2012: A/66/763: III.19)

Ramcharan (2004:40) concludes that:

Individual security must be the basis for national security, and national security grounded in individual security must be the basis of international security. National security and international security cannot be achieved without respect for individual security...

At the same time, it is crucial to admit that certain parallels in the debate about national security (vs. human security) and state sovereignty (vs. the principle of Responsibility to Protect) exist.

Moreover, vivacious discussion has arisen in terms of the relationship between human security and the RtP. At this point, it is important to understand this discussion as a limb of a tree, with the tree being the long lasting and exhausting debate about the superiority between the RtP principle and absolute respect for state sovereignty. However, the reasons for development of this debate have to be understood in the light of a historical perspective.



The United Nations were created in times when the most dangerous threat to peace and security was considered the violation of state integrity. One of the most obvious reasons for considering state sovereignty the crucial condition for achieving global stability was the fact that most of the known wars were interstate. Therefore, the international order was created on the principle of absolute respect for state sovereignty and on the principle of non-interference, as the highest principles guiding the international community, also proclaimed by the UN Charter (UN 1945: Art.2). However, the nature of security threats as well as the nature of conflicts changed radically since the creation of the UN system. Interstate wars were replaced by intrastate conflicts or armed insurgencies. People started to face mass atrocity crimes, such as war crimes like genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. However, this time, these crimes have been committed on the territory of their own state and the perpetrator has been frequently citizens' own governments. The responsibility of the international community to stop violence, whose character changed from being international to mostly sovereign state territory based, came into a clash with the principle of non-interference. However, the aim to maintain international peace and security proclaimed as the most important goal in the UN Charter (UN 1945: Art. 1.1.) remained crucial to follow and sustain. Therefore, the principle of RtP was adopted by the international community<sup>11</sup>.

Despite a great effort to keep the principle of state sovereignty and the RtP as distinguished as possible, the attempt to balance them has always been reflected on various levels and at various occasions, directly or indirectly. The states are very reluctant to lose any aspect of their own state sovereignty, but at the same time it is

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<sup>11</sup> The principle of the RtP is based on the idea that sovereignty is not a right, but a responsibility. The aim of the RtP is to prevent and halt Mass Atrocity Crimes (i.e. genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing). The Responsibility to Protect follows this logic: 1) A state has a responsibility to protect its population from mass atrocities;

2) The international community has a responsibility to assist the state to fulfill its primary responsibility;

3) If the state fails to protect its citizens from mass atrocities and peaceful measures have failed, the international community has the responsibility to intervene through coercive measures.

In practice, economic sanctions (e.g. embargoes) or diplomatic sanctions (restrictions on travel) are often used measures by the international community. However, military intervention is considered the last resort and the threshold to intervene is set up very high.

clear to them that balancing it with the RtP principle is inevitable in order to achieve global stability.

The understanding of security threats has changed as well. War is no longer understood as the only security threat or threat to peace. After extensive research on the causes of violent conflicts has been conducted, it is now more possible than ever to assess vulnerabilities as well as their correlation with each other and to determine the level of stability in a region or state.<sup>12</sup> Therefore we often identify possible causes for conflicts or causes of tensions in a society as security threats or vulnerabilities (e.g. high levels of poverty, economic inequality, unequal redistribution of natural resources and profits from them, historical grievances, the absence of legitimate government, etc.).

Human security content is based on preventing and eliminating threats to peace, security and stability which are very often considered as possible causes of violent conflicts. Hence, even though the traditional national security approach is so closely tied up with the state sovereignty, can the failure of a state to maintain human security be a basis for applying the RtP principle?

The main concerns of the RtP principle are mass atrocity crimes which are defined in public international law. The content of human security has a very wide scope and connection with RtP could cause chaos in the international community in terms of current international order. It would also devalue the principle of state sovereignty. Moreover, the debate about the scope of RtP and about the supremacy of state sovereignty versus RtP has been characterized by its very vivid nature. The UN consists of governments of sovereign states and some of them have had difficulties with giving up even small portion of their sovereignty in favour of RtP, even though it concerned only mass atrocity crimes. The chances of the states accepting the notion of

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<sup>12</sup> Various networks, units in IGOs and research departments whose aim is to identify the level of stability or the level of possible occurrence of violence in a region or state exist. The indicators vary according to a network as well as according to a region. However, it is important to note that predictions of an emergence of violent conflicts became very accurate, especially because of the speed of information channels available and the elaboration of methodological techniques. The fact that prediction techniques are on such a high level and became high-tech in their own manner creates an opportunity for preventive actions by the international community.

human security as a basis for application of the principle of RtP and consequently humanitarian intervention are nearly non-existent.

The annoyance and concern of several states about a possible connection between human security and RtP was articulated in various documents.

First, the Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General states that member states emphasized the need to clearly distinguish between the notion of human security and RtP. (UN 2012: A/66/763: II.11.) Thus, the report ensures that a failure of a state to provide human security would not threaten the state sovereignty. At the same time, it strongly articulates the distinction between human security and RtP:

Human security does not entail the threat or the use of force and is implemented with full respect for the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, including *full respect for sovereignty of States, territorial integrity and non-interference* in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of States.

...the notion of human security *is distinct* from the responsibility to protect and its implementation. While human security is in response to multidimensional insecurities facing people, the responsibility to protect focuses on protecting populations from specific cases of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. As such, human security has broader application, bringing together the three pillars of the United Nations system, whereas the responsibility to protect centres on the aforementioned situations. (UN 2012: A/66/763: IV.22.,23., italics added for emphasis)

Second, the states have decided to strongly declare the distinction between human security and the RtP principle in order to prevent any possibility of applying the RtP notion on the basis of human security in the UN General Assembly resolution in October 2012:

The notion of human security is distinct from the responsibility to protect and its implementation. (UN 2012: 3 (d); A/RES/66/290)

Moreover, this resolution (A/RES/66/290) can be interpreted as a reaction to the elaboration and the raising of importance of the human security concept within the UN. I would even argue that it reflects a well-founded concern among member states that human security might be interpreted or used as grounds for any kind of intervention based on the RtP principle. Rather than enriching the debate on the substance of the human security concept, this resolution hammers out the primary position of state sovereignty in the international relations discourse. The resolution declines any possible connection between the human security concept and the RtP

(3d); it stresses that human security does not replace state security (3e); calls for national solutions (3f); gives the governments the primary role in security issues and declares that the role of the international community is to complement and provide the necessary support to governments (3g); it highlights the importance of full respect for the sovereignty of states, territorial integrity and non-interference... and clearly declares that human security does not entail additional legal obligations on the part of States (3h). (UN 2012: 3 d - h; A/RES/66/290)

Rather than considering human security as a distinct concept, the UN member states are trying to approach the concept as an integrated part of national security.

The Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General summarizes this approach:

...human security emphasizes the interlinkages between security, development and human rights and considers these to be *the building blocks* of human and, therefore, *national security*. (UN 2012: III.18; A/66/763; italics added)

Moreover, in an increasingly interconnected world, where threats can potentially spread rapidly within and across countries, the application of *human security highlights the interface between security, development and human rights, and recognizes the profound interlinkages among these three pillars of the United Nations system*. (UN 2012: I. 3; A/66/763; italics added)

The approach which considers human security as a building block of national security does not necessarily underestimate the concept's importance. As Oberleitner (200:195) argues:

When human security starts penetrating the field of international norm making in a more persistent way, the documents resulting from these processes will possibly better reflect the balance between the concepts of state sovereignty and concern for the individual.

Moreover, Oberleitner (2001:196) explains that the idea of human security is based on normative values and it extends the security obligations of states beyond their borders, thereby making it interventionist by nature. Under a human security concept, the use of force would be applied for more cosmopolitan goals. However, taking human security seriously as a basis for RtP principle could lead to a fatigue and overstretch of the very notion of intervention.

On the other hand, Vankovska (2007:265) argues that the militaristic policies have intelligently embraced the rhetoric and rationale of human security because of the fact that not a single military intervention and action across the globe led by western

powers has been made without reference to its main goal in terms of human rights protection, democratization, or humanitarianism and peace and stability promotion, which are subsumed under the rubric of the ‘responsibility to protect’. Additionally, Matlary (2008:13) suggests that few if any interventions take place for purely humanitarian/human rights reasons, although she acknowledges that these factors clearly play an increasingly important role. Later on, Matlary (2009) elaborated her argument and suggests that that interventions rarely happen for human security reasons alone and that willingness and ability to contribute with risk and money to operations to ‘save strangers’ remain the hard questions, for NATO as well as for the EU.

### 2.3.2. Human Security and Development

The relationship between development and human security differs according to the particular conceptualizations of these two concepts. However, human security is in its nature interlinked with development. The advancement of human security would contribute to development efforts and vice-versa.

The Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General considers development a building block of human security. (UN 2012: III.18; A/66/763)

The UN GA resolution explains that the advancement of human security should contribute to realizing sustainable development. (UN 2012: par.4; A/RES/66/290)

Alkire (2010: 60-61) explains the relationship between human development and human security not as a “competitor”, but rather as human security being a subcategory of human development, which has several distinctive qualities. She concludes these qualities in seven points (*italics added for emphasis*):

1. Whereas human development focuses on the protection and expansion of capabilities, human security has a more limited focus. It focuses on creating *a minimum set of capabilities and of protecting these vital capabilities from critical pervasive threats*.

2. Human development could encompass any capabilities ranging from basic (ability to be well-nourished) to complex and high level (ability to learn architectural drawing). Human security, like human development, pertains to rich and poor nations and persons, but human security gained prominence recently because of *the need for relevant insecurities to be given greater priority among “highly developed” countries*.

3. Human security's conceptual origins responded to long-term threats of violence. Hence human security *explicitly includes responses to violence* and often studies *how poverty causes violence* and *how violence contributes to poverty*. It explores trade-offs between investments in military capabilities and investments in people's survival, livelihood and dignity.

4. Human development has stressed the intrinsically valuable aspect of capabilities and also investigated their instrumental value in advancing other aspects of human development. Human security likewise stresses the intrinsic importance of its core capabilities; it introduces *an explicit analysis of the instrumental value of these for political and military security*.
5. Both human security and human development emphasise both *the need to involve and empower people as agents* and also *the need to clarify the role and obligations of other institutions in protecting* (for human security) or protecting and advancing (for human development) *core capabilities*.
6. Human development in theory incorporates short-term and the long-term issues; in practice often human development has been interpreted as focusing on long-term issues rather than short-term emergencies. Human security likewise in theory incorporates short-term and long-term but in practice has tended to *focus on short-term crises related to conflict or to natural disaster, to financial crises or climatic disasters*. Both approaches emphasise sustainability and stability of outcomes.
7. The language of human security can be oriented towards humanity as a whole. There is an emphasis on our shared vulnerabilities and fragilities as a species, particularly with respect to the environment.

Two important remarks are crucial to the abovementioned points proposed by Alkire. The first remark concerns her second point. It is possible to prioritize particular insecurities within the framework of human security. However, it is important not to underestimate the universal character of this concept that it applies in developed as well as developing countries; the only difference is in the variation of threats individuals are facing. In developed countries, such as Japan, it is for example necessary to react to environmental disaster as a direct threat to human security; in Europe, the economic crisis negatively influences the livelihood and dignity of individuals and it may cause the basis for triggering the emergence of riots and violence. Simply put, threats differ across regions and communities but they are present in highly developed countries too. Secondly, human development and development in general are very rarely addressing the issues of violence even though there is a possibility of their correlation. Simply put, advancement in development can contribute towards the advancement of human security and an advancement of human security can contribute toward smoother and more efficient development.

The question concerning the relationship between human security and development and whether human security is a subcategory of development or the other way around would be definitely interesting to research further. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is crucial to clarify that the relationship between development and human security differs according to a particular conceptualization. After studying the contents of development and human security and their possible operationalization, it is accurate

to conclude, that these two concepts are mutually reinforcing, mutually supportive, and overlapping. If there is an advancement of human security, it is very likely that there will be advancement in development and vice-versa. Therefore, many political actions may contribute towards both even though they are articulated as an action based on only one of them, as they can mutually support each other in their goals. Moreover, it is necessary to agree with Gasper (2005:228) who concludes that human security will not be achieved without development and vice versa.

### **2.3.3. Human Security and Human Rights**

Nowadays, with the development and elaboration of the concept of human security and especially via the enrichment by the freedom to live in dignity, human security embodies most of human rights and the respect towards them may provide a very important basis for the progress towards human security. On the other hand, a society which is based on human security would provide conditions for the further elaboration and progress towards the respect of human rights. Human rights and human security go hand in hand. It would be impossible to achieve a global society founded on the respect towards human rights if human security would not be assured and vice versa.

However, human rights are indivisible, interrelated, and interdependent. On the other hand, human security is open to prioritization in certain situations. Certainly, the ideal situation would be to achieve freedom from want, fear, and to live in dignity at once, but in various contexts human security can prioritize one of them in order to achieve another one in the near future or as a reaction in a case of emergency (a well suited example for this may be emergency relief assistance for a natural disaster). Moreover, peacebuilding agencies tend to prefer the achievement of the absence of violence, the achievement of freedom from fear, as a first step towards human security.

Another important difference is that the actors which play a role in delivering human security and the enforcement mechanisms may differ from those responsible for implementing human rights to a reasonable extent. However, it is important to bear in mind that a gain for human security would be a gain for human rights and vice versa. In connection with the enforcement mechanisms, Alkire (2003:40) argues that human

security will use economic, political, and perhaps military forces and try to realise human security with the same force and decisiveness that characterises national security efforts. Traditionally, the actors which play a crucial role in delivering security are states and the same can be said about human rights because they represent international legal obligations of states which have to be implemented into domestic legal structures. Courts are responsible for the enforcement of the compliance with these legal obligations. Human security is not enforced by courts, although it is necessary to note that legal enforcement mechanisms for human rights are beneficial for human security. However, as argued above, human security underlines the importance of various actors in security, in addition to states, and the same can be said about human rights. In order to achieve human security and respect towards human rights, international organisations and (international) non-governmental organizations may represent important actors in the deliverance of human rights as well as human security.

Ramcharan (2004:40-47) makes an elaborated contribution to the study of the interlinkages between human rights and human security while concluding that national security and international security cannot be achieved without respect for individual security in the form of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Moreover, he argues that the attainment of human security is contingent upon respect for human rights, which is at the centre of all UN activities. The Follow-up Report of the UN Secretary-General considers human rights a building block of human security (UN 2012: III.18; A/66/763).

Human rights may be approached as legal norms which are based on a philosophical foundation of universalism and egalitarianism. However, there is a significant difference between natural rights and legal rights. Alkire (2003:2) provides many alternative working definitions of human security and its objective. The border line between human rights and human security is drawn in a very blurry manner. She defines the objective of human security as follows:

...to safeguard *the vital core* of all human lives  
...to create political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental conditions in which people live knowing that their *vital rights and freedoms* are secure.  
(Alkire 2003:2; italics added for emphasis)



The usage of “vital core”, “vital rights and freedoms” opens the discussions whether “vital” corresponds towards basic needs or human rights. Consequently, this question brings us back to the debate on the difference between basic needs and human rights. Certainly, not all basic needs correspond to human rights and not all human rights correspond to basic needs from the philosophical perspective. However, the central set of human rights rests on basic needs. Indeed, studying the relationship between human rights, basic needs and the implications for human security would require a scope of an additional dissertation. For the purpose of this thesis, it is necessary to note that these discussions and academic debates take place.<sup>13</sup>

In order to conclude, human security embodies most of human rights and these two concepts are to a large extent mutually supportive. Moreover, it is possible to argue that individual security may be understood in terms of respect towards human rights. In contrast to human rights, human security is open to prioritization. The actors responsible for the implementation of human security as well as human rights are primarily the states. However, human rights, if understood as legal rights, are also enforced by legal enforcement mechanisms.

### **2.3.4. Human Security and Peace**

Galtung (1969) makes a very important contribution to the understanding of peace when he conceptualizes peace in contrast to violence. He defines peace as the absence of violence and uses this idea as his point of departure. The absence of direct (personal) violence constitutes negative peace and the absence of structural violence<sup>14</sup> (absence of indirect violence, often referred to as social justice) represents positive peace. He uses the example of a coin, arguing that just as a coin has two sides, one side being only one aspect of the coin and not a complete coin, peace also has two sides: absence of personal violence and absence of structural violence. Therefore, we can conceptualize peace as a combination of negative peace *and* positive peace

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<sup>13</sup> For more information on the discussion see: Galtung 1980, 1994, 2003; Gasper 1996; Goldewijk and Fortman 1999; Nickel 2007; Nussbaum 2000; Shue 1980.

<sup>14</sup> Galtung (1969:168-169) defines structural violence as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. In other words, when the potential is higher than the actual, it is by definition avoidable and when it is avoidable, then violence is present.

respectively (Galtung 1969:183). Galtung's (1969) conceptualization of peace created the foundation for further elaboration of this concept and made a very important contribution in peace and conflict research. It also constitutes the point of departure for the understanding of peace in this master's thesis.

Extensive research on the causes of violent conflicts has been conducted in the last few decades, resulting in a rather radical change in the understanding of the concept of peace from the original perception which was focused only on negative peace. Peace is not anymore conceptualized only as an absence of direct violence but rather as a vision of a peaceful and fair society which is referred to as "ideal peace" (now commonly described as positive peace). As Richmond (2007:86) argues, peace is nowadays often explicitly conceptualized as social justice, economic viability and sustainability, and democratic political representation within states and civil society, which in turn will serve as a basis for a broader transnational and international peace.

Increasingly, advocates of peace conceptualize the concept in its ideal interpretation, which enriches the absence of direct violence with the elimination of possible causes for future conflict. This also includes the absence of structural violence, which Galtung (1969) referred to as the absence of social injustice. This conceptualization of peace focuses on ensuring a general well-being of people. Arguing a little bit further, peace can be approached as a utopian vision of a perfect society or as a Sisyphean task which may never be achieved. Indeed, this approach underlines the importance of employing various kinds of strategies, policies and instruments by both state and non-state actors dedicated to progressing towards peace.

Human security is characterised by a set of three freedoms – freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity. Freedom from fear represents the idea of freedom from violence, caused, for example, by armed conflicts, insurgencies and interstate wars. It is the articulated core condition for the achievement of human security and it can be equated with Galtung's (1969) absence of direct violence as the predisposition for negative peace to a large extent. Freedom from want represents the idea of freedom from poverty or any kind of needs which constitute the vital core, vital rights and freedoms. Social injustice is demonstrated by uneven distribution or even monopolization of both public goods, such as health care and education, and resources

which is often reflected in heavily skewed income distributions. Therefore, freedom from want can be represented and articulated in the peace discourse as social justice. Moreover, Galtung (1969:172) argues that if the concern is with peace, and peace is the absence of violence, then actions should be directed against personal as well as structural violence. Thus, in order to achieve peace it is crucial to eliminate both forms of violence or in other words to combine negative peace with positive peace. Human security embodies and addresses threats connected with both freedom from fear and freedom from want and both of them have to be achieved in order to ensure security of every individual. These freedoms as well as both Galtung's (1969) forms of violence are therefore mutually supportive, complementary, interconnected, and interdependent. Additionally, a peaceful society as well as a society in which human security is assured are based on and allow further enrichment of the substance of human rights. Such society would provide conditions for greater development including human development.

Moreover, Richmond (2007:129) argues that human security broadens the agents and structures responsible for security concerns and that human security oriented approaches and actors offer a vision of peace in which social welfare and justice can be incorporated.

The UN has been intensively elaborating the concept of human security since the 1994 Human Development Report. The Human Rights Council Advisory Committee on the right of peoples to peace has presented the Report on the Draft Declaration on the right to peace on the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 2012 (A/HRC/20/31). The draft declaration presents peace in its positive conceptualization. The drafters are aiming for a holistic version of peace, i.e. emphasizing the importance of the interdependence, interrelation, and interconnectedness among various components of peace. The draft declaration suggests including human security as an integrated component of peace, as a universal right within the framework of international human rights law.

Therefore, a clear and strong connection can be identified between peace and human security. It would be unlikely to have a peaceful society where human security would not be ensured or even violated. Moreover, it would be impossible to ensure human security without ensuring peace. Therefore, while peace can be considered an umbrella

concept in respect to human security, the same can be said about human security in respect to peace. Eventually, in approaching the relationship between these two concepts, everything depends on the particular conceptualization. The concept of peace can be easily equated with the human security concept or it can embody human security or human security can embody peace. These concepts overlap to a large extent, they are mutually reinforcing and they articulate similar claims, however, the audiences and contexts in which they are used may differ.

To conclude, arguments presented in this section support the first hypothesis of this thesis: *The concept of human security is consistent with the concept of peace.*

## 2.4. Human Security as a Political Strategy

Human security may be used as a political agenda or political strategy of a particular country, organisation, and union of states or a non-state actor. In this case, human security has the power to shape political discourse, political decisions, and it can consequently become a component or a leading strategy of a concrete political action.

Political strategies, statements, and consequent actions can be based on human security in various manners. Political actors can employ the notion of human security in two distinct but not mutually exclusive ways: through their declaration, statements, and strategy papers and/or through concrete political actions. Moreover, the concept of human security can be used and employed substantially, in which case the actors actually clearly declare their strategy or action to be based on the notion of human security, or partially, when an actor employs only certain components of human security.

Werthes and Bosold (2006: 22) explain that human security, when conceived as a political leitmotif (leading motive), can be understood as a more or less coherent normative framework for foreign policy and its impact should be significant not only in formulating specific policies but also in pursuing these policies.

Human security is a dynamic and practical policy framework to address widespread and cross-cutting threats in a coherent and comprehensive manner through greater collaboration and partnership among governments, international and regional organizations and civil society and community-based actors (UN 2012: VII.36 1; A/66/763).

Recognizing that threats to human security vary considerably across countries and communities and at different points in time, the application of human security calls for an assessment of human insecurities that is both comprehensive and contextually relevant. Such an approach helps to focus attention on current and emerging threats to the security and well-being of individuals and communities. (UN 2012: V.28; A/66/763)

Human security helps with the conceptualization of the broad range of current security threats. Moreover, it offers a normative reference point for evaluating and orientating policies and political instruments: the security and protection of the individual. It

thereby demands creativity and flexibility when deciding on policy strategies and policy instruments (Werthes and Debiel 2006: 18).

It is important to note that various attempts to prioritize one of the freedoms over the others exist in the actual foreign policy frameworks of various states and organisations. Canada, Japan, and Norway are the pioneering countries in using the concept of human security as a basis for their foreign policy strategies.

Two main perceptions of human security exist among these political actors. The narrow perception focuses on threats to freedom from fear in the form of direct violence. The broad approach focuses on threats to freedom from want arising from underdevelopment, and on threats to other rights and freedoms (Kerr 2010:126).

Canada has taken human security as the paradigm for its foreign policy, mostly pushing forward the agenda of freedom from fear, by expressing the importance of the RtP principle and their willingness to react when emergencies around the world cause human suffering which may be prevented or halted. However, the future of human security as a basis for the foreign policy of Canada became uncertain in 2010.<sup>15</sup> Norway also focuses the attention towards freedom from fear, underlying the importance of preventive actions, small arms control, and peacebuilding operations. Japan, under Prime Minister Obuchi, embraced the broad definition to human security closely related to the 1994 UNDP Report, i.e. working with both freedom from want and from fear. However, the Japanese approach shifted towards prioritization of the freedom from want, focusing on human needs in 2002, mostly relying on their strong opposition towards humanitarian military intervention. It is worth noting that the Constitution of Japan prohibits the country from intervening militarily in Article 9.

Canada and Japan have proven already that human security, despite its current definitional ambiguity, can serve as a political leitmotif, and helps to formulate policy agendas leading to substantial results (e.g. the Ottawa Process and the establishment of

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<sup>15</sup> Martin and Owen (2010:211) explain as follows: “Canada, one of the principal initial proponents of the human security agenda, is also going through a period of withdrawal from both advocacy and use of the concept. A recently leaked internal email from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade outlined a series of shifts in the language of Canadian foreign policy. ‘Human security’ was among a group of terms blacklisted in government parlance. While this shift is linked to the ideological leanings of the current conservative government, it still marks a quite dramatic departure for a government that once championed the concept.”

the permanent International Criminal Court) (Sascha Werthes and Tobias Debiel 2006:18).

However, these few countries are not the only ones approaching the notion of human security as an important aspect of their foreign policies. The Human Security Network (HSN), an association of foreign ministers from 13 countries<sup>16</sup> was established in 1999 with the aim of promoting the concept of human security as a feature of all national and international policies. The standpoints of the HSN are articulated at various levels within the UN and a close cooperation with academia and civil society contributes to the aim of the network. HSN urges states to accede to the Anti-Personnel Mine Convention and the International Criminal Court. Moreover, HSN works on the agenda of the control of small arms and light weapons; the promotion of women's rights, peace, and security; the protection of children in armed conflicts; questions of the IHL; and others.<sup>17</sup>

Consequently, it is possible to conclude that human security has the power to shape political discourse and to serve as a foundation for various kinds of policies or political actions. Moreover, as this master's thesis proved in its first section, important and substantial interlinkages between human security, human rights, development, and peace exist. When used as a political strategy or a basis for political actions, human security can incorporate important aspects of these concepts into the security rhetoric. Therefore, it carries the rhetorical potential to reach places and forums where the language of universal human rights, development, or peace is inefficient, insufficient, or even obnoxious.

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<sup>16</sup> The current members of HSN are: Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland and Thailand, with South Africa participating as an observer.

<sup>17</sup> More information on the work of the Human Security Network can be found: <http://www.austria.org/humansecurity-network> ; Not to be confused with the Civil Society Network for Human Security: <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.net/about>

### 3. The Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union

The following chapter of this thesis will provide an overview of the CFSP lexis in the context of the human security framework. When used as a basis for political strategy, human security represents a qualitative change in the conduct of foreign and security policy because it answers not only traditional but also non-traditional security threats or ‘soft security’ challenges.

The European Union is attempting to become a global player, a respected actor on the world stage. The Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, with its major element the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP/ESDP)<sup>18</sup>, is supposed to be the main tool and guide for achieving this goal. Many steps have been taken in order to achieve a strong common voice speaking for united Europe. The Treaty of Lisbon established the European External Action Service (EEAS) which combines policy and delivery tools under one single authority of the High Representative (HR) for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The EEAS became known as the diplomatic corps of the EU with the objective of implementing the CFSP<sup>19</sup>. Kaldor (2007) argues that human security can encompass the key terms for ESDP, crisis management, civil – military coordination and conflict prevention, and can offer a set of principles on how to act.

Various opinions on the CFSP effectiveness and strategies are discussed. It is important to note, that in spite of the existence of a global strategy, the EU employs different strategies and adjusts instruments and agendas for various regions around the world. The EU is often labelled a normative global actor and their strategies towards candidate or potential candidate countries are characterised by an analogy of carrot and

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<sup>18</sup> The treaty of Lisbon specifies that the CSDP “shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civilian and military assets. The Union may use them on missions outside the Union for peace-keeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.” (2004:Section 2;49.1.)

<sup>19</sup> The EEAS was legally established by the Treaty of Lisbon (came into force in 2009), Title V., Chapter 2, Article 27.3. The European Parliament had adopted a resolution on the proposal for establishment made by High Representative Catherine Ashton by a large majority on 8th of July 2010. The final establishment requirements were met by the decision of the Council of Ministers on 26<sup>th</sup> of July 2010. The EEAS was formally launched on 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2011.



stick. Smith (2011:152) argues that the conditions of EU membership serve to reinforce EU values in terms of the type of ethical order the EU is attempting to create. Matlary (2009:46-47) argues that all EU operations have been concerned with human security. She uses the example of Artemis with the aim of halting genocide in order to support the argument that operations within the framework of human security may require just as tough use of military force as traditional state-security operations.

Vankovska argues (2007:270) that the EU interventions are products of the EU's thinking principally about its own agenda (that is, its own interests, capabilities, chances of success, and historical responsibilities). In her words: "‘locals’ and people in need are rarely in a position to be heard – unless they literally scream in terror. Unfortunately, reality proves that ‘all human lives are invaluable but some lives are more invaluable than others’." (Vankovska 2007:270)

Despite Vankovska's harsh criticism of the EU's foreign policy actions and general criticism of the nature of the current international attitude towards human suffering, this criticism does not necessarily apply to all of the EU's foreign missions or actions. The EU remains an important and influential role in the Balkans. Moreover, strategies of stick and carrots or normative actions are not necessarily fruitless if they take into consideration regional or a country's specifications.

This chapter of this master's thesis will first analyse the EU's lexis, particularly CFSP, within the framework of human security. It is important to review the Treaty of Lisbon because it primarily determines the conduct and identifies the objectives of the CFSP. Therefore, it is crucial for the advancement of this study to determine to what extent human security and its integrated components have a basis in the strategic documents which determine the conduct and objectives of the CFSP. Moreover, the European Strategy will be briefly reviewed within the context of human security and the work of the Human Security Group will be introduced.

### 3.1. The Treaty of Lisbon

The Treaty of Lisbon (also known as the Lisbon Treaty or the Reform Treaty) is an international agreement which was signed by the EU member states on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 2007, and entered into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2009. It amends the Treaty on European Union (also known as the Maastricht Treaty) and the Treaty Establishing the European Community (TEC; also known as the Treaty of Rome; renamed in this process to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union - TFEU) which serve as the constitutional basis of the EU.

The CFSP and consequently the EEAS are based on principles which are set in the Treaty of Lisbon, especially in the General Provisions on the Union's External Action:

The Union's action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, *development* and *enlargement*, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: *democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms*, respect for *human dignity*, the principles of *equality* and *solidarity*, and respect for the principles of *the United Nations Charter* and *international law*. (2007:2.1;10A.1.; italics added for emphasis)

At the same time, the Treaty of Lisbon (2007:2.1;10A.1.) stresses the importance of building partnerships with other actors and gives importance to the promotion of multilateral solutions to common problems while acknowledging the importance of the framework of the UN.

Moreover, the Treaty of Lisbon (2007:2.1;10A.2.) elaborates on the general provisions as follows:

The Union shall define and pursue common policies and actions, and shall work for a high degree of cooperation in all fields of international relations, in order to:

- (a) safeguard its values, fundamental interests, security, independence and integrity;
- (b) consolidate and support *democracy, the rule of law, human rights* and the principles of *international law*;
- (c) *preserve peace, prevent conflicts* and *strengthen international security*, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and with the aims of the Charter of Paris, including those relating to external borders;
- (d) foster *the sustainable economic, social and environmental development* of developing countries, with the primary aim of eradicating poverty;
- (e) encourage *the integration of all countries into the world economy*, including through the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade;

- (f) help develop international measures to preserve and improve *the quality of the environment and the sustainable management of global natural resources*, in order to ensure sustainable development;
- (g) assist populations, countries and regions confronting *natural or man-made disasters*; and
- (h) promote an international system based on *stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance*. (2007:10A.2.; italics added for emphasis)

This article of the Treaty of Lisbon quoted above will provide the basis for our interpretation in the context of the human security framework, as conceptualized in the first section of this master's thesis.

As mentioned before, the security threats and vulnerabilities to security have changed. The aim of human security is to answer vulnerabilities or threats to security, if possible, before the violence emerges, or stabilize a vulnerable situation after the cessation of violence.

At this point, it is crucial to remember that human security recognizes and emphasizes the interlinkages between state security, development, peace, human rights (UN 2012:III.18; A/66/763 and UN 2012: VII.36 g; A/66/763) as well as freedom from fear, want, and freedom to live in dignity. First, this subchapter will analyse the various aims and strategic goals of the CFSP and match them with the integrated components of human security – freedom from fear, want, and to live in dignity (Table 3.1.1). However, it is important to mention that these three freedoms are not distinct. They are mutually supportive, interlinked, and the achievement of one of them triggers progress towards another (as presented in figure 2.1.1).

The freedom to live in dignity represents an overlap and deep connection between freedom from fear and want. Threats to freedom to live in dignity cause also threats to freedom from fear and/or freedom from want implicitly or as a result. A person who is free to live in dignity is the person who is not afraid that he would have to face violence and does not suffer from any insufficiency, or, in other words, the person is freed from fear and want. The respect towards human rights, as one of the goals of the CFSP as stated in the Treaty of Lisbon, is approached in the table 3.1.1 below as a crucial prerequisite for ensuring the freedom to live in dignity. The reason for such conceptualization is based on the condition that if respect towards human rights is not

assured, it will constitute a threat towards freedom from fear (violence) as well as freedom from want (poverty). The compliance with the ICCPR and the ICSECR would be endangered and both violations can constitute serious security threats. Reversibly, if human rights are respected, freedom from fear and want and freedom to live in dignity are positively influenced and progress towards human security would be certainly noticeable. Moreover, human security underlines the importance of non-state actors in security and for the purposes of progressing towards respect for human rights, various actors and their efficient cooperation is crucial.

<b>Freedom from fear</b>	<b>Freedom from want</b>	<b>Freedom to live in dignity</b>
preserve peace, prevent conflicts (c)	the sustainable economic, social and environmental development (d)	democracy, the rule of law, human rights, international law (b)
	the integration of all countries into the world economy (e)	natural or man-made disasters (g)
	the sustainable management of global natural resources (f)	the quality of the environment (f)
		stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance (h)

***Table 3.1.1. The relationship between the Treaty of Lisbon and Human Security***

The notion of freedom from fear is presented in article 10.A.2(c); freedom from want is presented in article 10.A.2.(d), (e), and (f) and the freedom to live in dignity is covered in the article 10.A.2.(b), (g), (f), and (h). The promotion of stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance (10.A.2.h) and the importance of building partnerships with other actors and to promote multilateral solutions to common problems (10.A.1) are crucial for policies based on human security. However, this important aspect of the CFSP is understood rather as a way to conduct such a policy.

Human security calls for comprehensive, people-centred, context-specific, and prevention-oriented actions solutions (UN 2012: I. 3; A/66/763). For successful achievement of these solutions, cooperation is certainly a necessary condition, because an effective human security approach requires strong coordination and cooperation (Kaldor et al. 2007:285). Moreover, Menkhaus (2007:457) argues that effective

preventative strategies will include coordination actions to address both root causes as well as precipitating factors. Otherwise, re-emergence of violence or worsening of an already difficult situation might be the result of inefficient coordination of activities and efforts of various actors, particularly in peacebuilding.<sup>20</sup> Certainly, cooperation among various actors is crucial for the achievement of human security, since with the emergence of new security threats and vulnerabilities states are not the only actors who may contribute towards security or lack thereof (Richmond 2007; Oberleitner 2005; Jordan 2009).

To conclude, it is certain that strong parallels between the EU's lexis and the human security framework exist. Despite not mentioning human security explicitly, human security is implied in the CFSP strategic goals articulated in the Treaty of Lisbon. Moreover, the text of the Treaty of Lisbon is consistent with the crucial requirement for conduct of a political action based on human security, cooperation.

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<sup>20</sup> Various state and non-state actors may take part in peacebuilding. The role each actor plays in a specific state or region depends on more factors (the actor's interests, capacity, norms, knowledge, expertise, etc.). In order to achieve desirable results, it is crucial to create fitting types of cooperation (in some cases networks based simply on information sharing might be enough; in other cases creating a hierarchy among various actors involved in peacebuilding might be necessary). Inefficiency in coordination of peacebuilding activities may cause failing or inefficiency of a mission. This is commonly referred to as "Coordination problem" elaborated by Paris and Sisk (2009).

## 3.2. The European Security Strategy “A Secure Europe in a Better World”

The European Security Strategy titled “A Secure Europe in A Better World”<sup>21</sup> (hereinafter ‘the European Security Strategy’) determines global security challenges as well as the key threats the EU is facing in current times.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, the European Security Strategy suggests the possible ways for the EU to contribute to global and regional security and it identifies the EU’s strategic objectives. At the same time, a series of policy implications for the EU are proposed in order to effectively face the threats. First, the EU has to become more active in pursuing strategic objectives. It is necessary to combine various instruments for crisis management and conflict prevention (political, diplomatic, military and civilian, trade, and development activities). The development of operations involving both military and civilian capabilities is suggested. The support and cooperation with the UN is underlined. Second, the EU has to be more capable of action. The transformation of military with regards to more flexible, more efficient use of resources, reduction of duplications, and increase of civilian capacity, stronger diplomatic capability, and improved sharing of intelligence are necessary. Third, the EU needs to achieve coherence not only in terms of bringing together all the existing instruments and capabilities but also in terms of bringing together development, trade and environmental policies as well as diplomatic efforts for the purpose of following the same agenda. Fourth, international cooperation with EU’s partners is necessary, namely with the United States, Russia, Japan, China, Canada, and India. It is also important to develop strategic partnerships with all those who share EU goals and values.

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<sup>21</sup> The European Security Strategy titled “A Secure Europe in A Better World” was adopted by the European Council in Brussels on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 2003. The Report on the implementation of the European Security Strategy - *Providing Security in a Changing World* was drafted under the responsibilities of the EU High Representative Javier Solana and approved by the European Council held in Brussels on the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> December 2008. These two documents discuss global security. Therefore, not to be confused with the Internal Security Strategy which deals purely with internal threats the EU is facing and serves only as a complement to the European Security Strategy.

<sup>22</sup> The key threats the EU according to the Strategy are as follows: Terrorism, Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Regional Conflicts, State failure and Organised Crime.

The European Security Strategy reflects the importance of human security, although not explicitly. The combination of military and civilian capabilities, the combination of political, diplomatic, military and civilian, trade, and development activities as a way to conduct crisis management and conflict prevention, and the aim to bring together development, trade and environmental policies, represent the shift from the understanding of security purely in military terms and this aspect implies the penetration of soft security threats into the security concerns of the EU. Moreover, multilateralism is again mentioned as a strategy that reflects the important aspect of conducting policies based on the notion of human security.

### **3.3. The Human Security Network - from Barcelona to Madrid**

To this date, there exist two often cited documents on the importance of incorporation of human security in the EU CFSP.

First, the study group on Europe's security capabilities (now the Human Security Group) introduced 'A Human Security Doctrine' (referred to as the 'Barcelona Report') in 2004 which proposed human security as the most appropriate approach for the EU's foreign and security policy. This report was presented to Javier Solana, the then EU High Representative for CFSP and opened the discussion about the implementation of human security into the EU's policies. The Barcelona Report is based on the general assumptions about the current developments of international relations and it suggests that the EU is required to reflect the changes of the international environment in its external actions and involvements. The Report consists of seven principles which form a guideline for politicians, diplomats, soldiers, civil aides, as well as the European public, and it proposes the capabilities required for applying those principles in practice – the Human Security Response Force (composed of both civil and military elements) and a new legal framework. According to Liotta and Owen (2006:50), the Human Security Response Force would represent an ambitious, even breathtaking, initiative to respond to crisis challenges. However, it is necessary to admit that while this report constitutes a certain point of departure for

examining the connection of the CFSP with human security, the concept of human security as well as the CFSP has since been developed significantly, which raises questions about the Barcelona Report's relevance for today. As Vankovska (2007:268) argues, the Human Security Doctrine undoubtedly points out an extremely important aspect of human security, but as a political document it fails to identify how the EU may contribute to human security in many parts of the world. In other words, the document has not embraced many important ways in which the EU could support human security agenda through its own actions and exemplary behaviour. It focuses more on post festum actions in situations of extreme urgency (that is, when a conflict has already broken out) or through the period of post-conflict stabilization.

Second, the Finnish Presidency of the EU asked the same study group to look at ways of taking forward the human security agenda within the European Union in 2006. The research resulted in a much more elaborated document with less methodological problems and it identifies human security as the most appropriate security strategy for the EU. The Madrid Report: 'A European Way of Security' was presented in 2007 and it elaborates on the Barcelona Report. The Madrid Report proposes six main principles of the CFSP conduct in order to be properly embedded in the human security. These principles are: (1) the primacy of human rights; (2) legitimate political authority; (3) a bottom-up-approach; (4) effective multilateralism; (5) an integrated regional approach; (6) clear and transparent strategic direction.

According to Martin and Owen (2010:221), the concept of human security has become too fuzzy in the UN. In order to avoid this development from happening in the EU as well, two preventive measures are proposed. The first underlines the importance of Barcelona and Madrid Reports' focus on a simultaneous combination of narrow and broad approaches as opposed to the use of only one of those. Second, the concept of human security could be approached in terms of critical thresholds – i.e. particular vulnerabilities that would exceed a certain threshold would thereby constitute security threats.



## **4. Facing Security Threats in BiH – the EU’s Role**

As freedom from fear, want, and freedom to live in dignity are interdependent, overlapping, and mutually supportive, the same can be said about the seven main areas where a threat to human security can be found according to the 1994 UNHDR: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, political, and community security. Consequently, it would be inappropriate to study and approach them separately. Therefore, first, an overview of the current threats to human security present in BiH will be presented on the basis of the general framework elaborated in the first section of this thesis. Second, the EU’s reactions towards these threats will be scrutinized.

### **4.1. The Threats towards Human Security**

BiH is experiencing negative peace. However, the fact that war ended did not ensure the transformation towards a society where every individual would be secure. Various threats towards human security are still present in the country. The economic growth, unemployment rate, and the standard of living in general as well as the political situation provide important indicators for the degree of human security in BiH.

Vankovska (2007:273-274) makes an important contribution when she provides strong arguments in order to support her hypothesis that the Balkans enjoys negative peace, but there are few signs of a burgeoning positive peace. She concludes that numerous surveys and analyses, despite different methodologies and standards, are almost unanimous in depicting human insecurity in the region.

The economic globalization increases economic interdependence of national economies around the world. Moreover, the economic security represents one of the areas where a threat towards human security can be found. In order to assess the standard of living in BiH, three indicators will be used: the Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, level of unemployment, and Human Development Index (HDI).

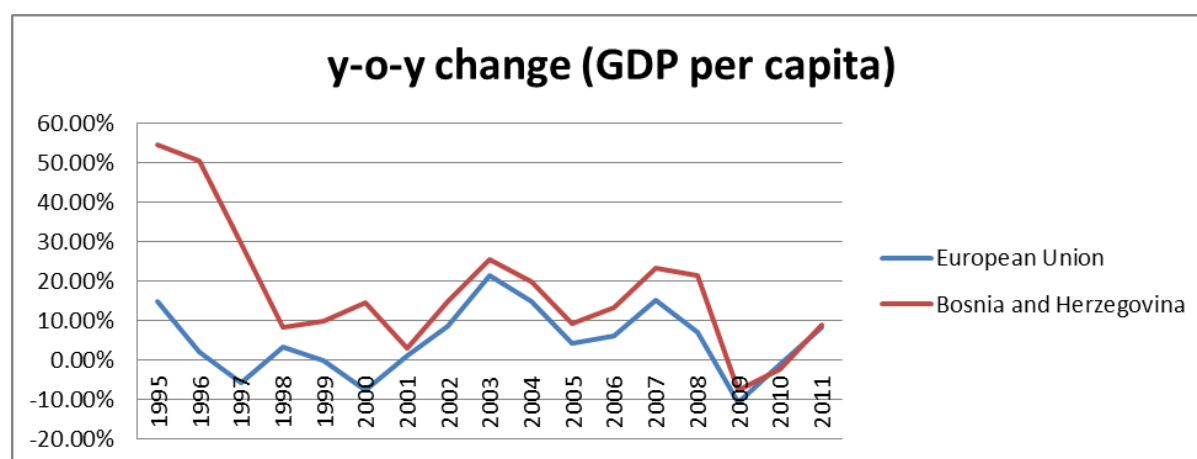
First, BiH had experienced a decrease in GDP per capita since 2007, hitting the trough in 2009. As we can observe (Graph 4.1.1 and Table 4.1.1), the economic cycle of the

EU and BiH is synchronized to a large extent. The BiH's trade dependency on EU import/export may be an explanation for this trend.

According to the European Commission (2013), the EU represents 63% of BiH's total imports and 73% of total exports, and EU's direct investment stocks account for about 50% of total inflows to the country.

The European Commission for Enlargement (2013) states:

Bosnia and Herzegovina has profited from EU autonomous trade measures since 2000. Following the entry into force of the Interim Agreement on 1 July 2008, access of products from Bosnia and Herzegovina to the EU expanded, and EU exports to the country have been granted trade preferences. In 2007, both the country's exports to and imports from the EU increased by 6.3% and 8.8% respectively. Exports represented approximately 15% of GDP, and imports 31% (2007 GDP estimated at € 11 billion). The main source of export revenues are manufactured goods – including textiles, machinery and transport equipment, and raw materials. The EU is the main trading partner of the country.



**Graph 4.1.1 Year-over-year change in GDP per capita: comparison of the EU and BiH;**

**Source: The World Bank**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
EU	14.71	1.89	-5.83	3.33	-0.22	-7.51	0.99	8.72	21.43	14.92
BiH	54.43	50.45	29.45	8.42	9.99	14.57	2.89	14.85	25.61	19.79
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011			
EU	4.08	6.16	15.11	7.02	-10.94	-1.18	8.37			
BiH	9.24	13.25	23.31	21.51	-7.72	-2.35	8.88			

**Table 4.1.1 Year-over-year change in GDP per capita; comparison of the EU and BiH;**

**Source: The World Bank**

Second, the unemployment<sup>23</sup> rate remains a crucial problem for the citizens of BiH. The rate of 31.8 % in 2006 had a decreasing tendency until 2009 when it reached 24.1%. However, with the financial crisis, the unemployment rate resurged up to 28% in 2012 (Agencija za statistiku 2013).

The EU unemployment average in the 4<sup>th</sup> quartile of 2012 was 10.8 %, with the highest unemployment rating in Greece (26.3%) and Spain (26.2%). In the Balkan region, Macedonia, candidate country to the EU, rated up to 30.8% (Eurostat 2013).

Third, BiH is ranked as 81<sup>st</sup> out of 186 measured countries in the Human Development Index (HDI) which is a way of measuring development by combining indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment, and income (since 2010 using GNI instead of GDP).<sup>24</sup> While Kosovo is not included in HDI, BiH ranked the lowest from the Balkans.

To sum up, the GDP had an increasing tendency and very promising potential until the financial crisis in 2009. The economy of BiH is dependent on the EU's economy to a large extent and these strong linkages result in vulnerability which may be influenced by the current economic turmoil in the EU. The unemployment rate in BiH is comparable to those of the countries in the EU suffering the worst (Spain and Greece). The unemployment rate in BiH is not even close to the average of the EU. Labour market challenges remain in the country. The HDI takes into consideration more factors, including health, education, and income. Moreover, HDI reflects country-specific priorities. Currently, BiH is ranked the lowest from the region. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that economic insecurities are present in BiH.

Furthermore, the borders of the federal republics follow the ethnical division and the whole institutional design is based on ethnicity. Gro Nystuen (2005) argues that the institutional design which is based on ethnic balance could be in fact perceived as a violation of human rights provisions set in the same constitution. Her argument was proven appropriate by the European Court of Human Rights ruling in the Sejdic-Finci case. Belloni (2009:359-361) calls BiH's institutional design an "institutional

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<sup>23</sup> The World Bank defines unemployment as "the share of the labor force that is without work but available for and seeking employment. Definitions of labor force and unemployment differ by country." We refer to the % of total labor force data set.

<sup>24</sup> More information on methodology can be found at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/>

monster”. He argues that the representatives are of their respective ethnic groups and therefore have no incentive to make any cross-ethnic appeals. He underlines the fact that ethnicity is precisely what divides the Bosnian peoples and the Dayton Accords. Instead of creating conditions for softening ethnic identities, they entrench them by making ethnicity integral to constitutional design. He calls the externally designed Constitution of BiH a “Frankenstein constitution”:

Dayton Peace Agreement created a complex institutional structure, composed of one state, two entities, three peoples, an estimated 3.9 million citizens, and five layers of governance led by 14 prime ministers and governments, making Bosnia the state with the highest number of presidents, prime ministers, and ministers per capita in the entire world. Even taking into account the very real constraints of negotiating a peace settlement in the course of bloody, ongoing war, which prevented the assessment of the long-term implications of the peace deal, it is hard to disagree with the judgment that the agreement’s midwives created a “Frankenstein constitution.” (Belloni 2009: 359)<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, it is important to note that the Dayton Accords were signed under international pressure and the institutions were designed by foreigners. Bose (2002:61) underlines the fact that the whole constitution is a work of lawyers from the United States and does not reflect the country-specific conditions and therefore lacks legitimacy. Recchia (2007:11) stresses out the fact that this peace agreement was hammered out and ultimately signed under heavy international pressure. Additionally, he argues that it became a major obstacle to the building of self-sustaining peace. Vankovska (2007:274) explains that poverty is usually coupled with inequality in BiH. When the perceived unequal distribution of jobs and wealth as well as the access to resources is along ethnic lines, then the general socio-economic problems translate into ethnically motivated injustices. Moreover, she warns that the grave socio-economic situation coupled with unresolved war trauma and lack of post-conflict reconciliation will provide a ground for a new round of bloody upheaval – perhaps not immediately, but at some time in the future.

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<sup>25</sup> The institutional design and its stability, its impact on the level of democracy, especially in the context of openness of the political post (as running for posts is also based on the ethnic/national affiliation), the level of ethnic cleavages in the society have been a long lasting research area for scholars of nationalism, political sciences as well for peace researchers (Beardsley 2008; Belloni 2009; Bose 2002; Chandler 1999; Norris 2008; O’Brien 2005; Nystuen 2005).

Moreover, the institutional design created a very complicated decision making process which leads to political instability and tensions in political discourse. BiH was not able to form a government for more than a year since October 2010 and the International Crisis Group (2011) described the situation as “state institutions under attack” and “the worst crisis since the war” in May 2011 while urging the EU to act in the matter as soon as possible.

The European Commission (2012c:8-21) summarizes that a complex institutional architecture remains inefficient, there has been little progress in compliance with the ECtHR judgement in the Sejdic-Finci case, policy-making remains fragmented and uncoordinated, there was limited progress in the area of judicial system reform, limited progress in addressing corruption, the legal and institutional framework for the observance of human rights is in place and the main elements of international human rights laws have been incorporated into the legal system but little progress has been made in the promotion and enforcement of human rights. Moreover, the European Commission (2012c:54-57) concludes that some progress was achieved on police matters and on the fight against terrorism but little progress in fighting organised crime and on combating trafficking in human beings .

Currently, BiH remains vulnerable to security threats. Various areas of threats towards human security are overlapping, interlinked, and they remain mutually reinforcing. The unique institutional design based on the principle of power sharing created by the Dayton Accords, which divides the country along ethnic lines and does not reflect the specific conditions of the country, contributes towards tensions and instability in BiH. Moreover, ethnicity is often interlinked with socio-economic conditions which increase the presence of vulnerabilities in the country.

## 4.2. The Response of the EU

The EU has a clear interest in the Balkans. However, to what extent it is responding to the current human security threats remains uncertain. This subchapter will analyse the actions of the EU in BiH within the framework of human security.

BiH applied for EU membership and it became a potential candidate country during the Thessaloniki European Council summit in June 2003. The EU and BiH signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) in June 2008 and it was ratified in 2010. The Interim Agreement on Trade and Trade-related issues entered into force on the 1st of July 2008 and since then the EU became the main trading partner of the country (EC 2013). The EU is present in BiH through the framework of the CFSP, especially through the Office of the EU Special Representative and the Delegation of the EU to BiH.

The country has to become more stable, and rules and procedures in the country have to become more consistent with those the EU is based on. In order to achieve this, the EU is using the Copenhagen criteria and a set of country-specific criteria that need to be fulfilled by BiH in order to become eligible to join the EU. Certain other criteria must be also fulfilled if the country wants to profit from various EU financial mechanisms. Therefore, the EU's policy towards BiH can be characterized as conditional and normative.

A military operation of the EU in BiH, EUFOR Althea, was launched in 2004 (6300 troops) with the aim to maintain the Dayton Accords and to provide capacity-building and training support to the BiH Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces. As of January 2013, the mission has 600 troops at its disposal. This military operation is aiming for amelioration of the military capability of the country in order to preserve peace and prevent conflicts and therefore contributes towards the achievement of freedom from fear. As approached in table 3.1.1, the aim to preserve peace and to prevent conflict is consistent with the achievement of freedom from fear. Moreover, a combination of hard and soft measures may be employed if an action is performed within the framework of human security. Moreover, military capability is also important in terms of the capacity to respond to natural or man-made disasters or emergencies which is, in

table 3.1.1, interpreted as an action aiming for the achievement of freedom to live in dignity. Therefore, strengthening the capability of the military in BiH contributes towards freedom from fear, freedom to live in dignity and consequently possibly towards freedom from want, approached as integrated components of human security. The first EU mission under the ESDP, the EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM), completed its mandate on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2012. High Representative Catherine Ashton stated that the completion of EUPM reflects the progress achieved by BiH in strengthening the rule of law. She affirmed that the rule of law will be further supported through the Instrument for Pre-accession assistance (IPA) (EU 2012). A capable police force contributes towards strengthening the rule of law which in table 3.1.1 represents progress towards the achievement of freedom to live in dignity because it may directly or indirectly influence both remaining freedoms which constitute integrated components of human security. For example, elimination of police brutality and organized crime contributes towards the achievement of freedom from fear, and the elimination of corruption contributes towards freedom from want and together they represent a progress towards freedom to live in dignity and therefore towards human security. Moreover, a capable police force influences the level of democracy and contributes towards the respect for human rights which, in table 3.1.1, are goals that contribute to freedom to live in dignity. Therefore, the EUPM contributes to a large extent towards the achievement of human security, through answering threats towards human security and its integrated components. Moreover, a capable police force positively influences economic security (e.g. prevention or halt of illegal monopolization of resources), health security (e.g. malnutrition or other abuses of children), environmental security (e.g. illegal pollution), personal security (e.g. terrorism, domestic violence, crime in general), political security (e.g. free and fair elections), and community security (e.g. prevention of inter-ethnic, religious, or other identity based tensions from transforming into violence). Therefore, a capable police force represents an important tool for the achievement of human security.

BiH was receiving financial assistance from the EU through the Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development, and Stabilisation programme (CARDS)

from 2000 to 2006 which was replaced with the IPA in 2007. BiH and the EU signed the financing agreement for IPA on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 2008. As a potential candidate country, BiH is eligible for component I and II (I: Transition Assistance and Institution Building; II: Cross-border Co-operation). The financial assistance through IPA for the period 2011-2013 will present over €91 million supporting public administration reform, justice and home affairs, private sector development, transport, environment and climate change, and social development (EC 2011).

The EU provides additional financial assistance to BiH through the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). BiH also participates in the 7th Framework Programmes of the EU for research, technological development, and demonstration activities 2007-2013 (FP7), Tempus, and Culture Programme 2007-2013. TAIEX, P2P, LAF, and IfS are also open to BiH (The EU Delegation to BiH 2013).

However, due to the EU's principle of conditionality, the distribution of resources is often scrutinized. Kappler and Richmond (2011:263-275) argue that external actors focus on fixed, external standards, with little contextual awareness of their peacebuilding policies. Moreover, the carrot that the EU has to offer is not modifiable and only works if local actors comply with the EU's policy prescriptions. Therefore, the EU's funding structures are based on the assumption that BiH will become 'European' in terms of gradually adopting EU values and standards. They also explain that if local actors fail to comply with external norms, the reaction is coercion rather than negotiation. Kappler and Richmond (2011) conclude that the EU has failed so far in connecting with the locals and the challenge for the EU remains to search for a peacebuilding framework that is more locally legitimate before adopting a framework as a policy.

However it is important to note that Huliaras (2011) argues that without using the term human security, bilateral and multilateral donors in the Balkans adopted a human security approach while extensively using conditionality.

Moreover, the EU contributes towards the Sarajevo Declaration process which was initiated in 2005 with the aim to find a sustainable solution for refugees and displaced persons following the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The process



involves four countries: BiH, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia. The EU funds for 2012 and 2013 will be made available through IPA. The Regional Housing Programme (RHP) is an integral part of the Sarajevo Process and 5400 households will represent the beneficiaries in BiH (EC 2012b). The 1994 UNDP Report explicitly mentions displaced persons and refugees as individuals who face serious threats towards their human security. The support of the EU can therefore directly contribute towards the achievement of human security for displaced persons and refugees and towards eliminating threats to their freedom to live in dignity.

The justice sector remains a very troubled area in BiH. The EU launched the Structured Dialogue on Justice in 2011 and stated in 2012 that it has positively impacted the implementation of the Justice Sector Reform Strategy 2009-2013 (EC 2012a: 12). The European Commission (2012a:15-16) concludes in its assessment of the situation in BiH that there has been little progress in achieving more functional, coordinated, and sustainable institutional structures, and underlines the need for substantial efforts to reinforce the justice sector, in line with the priorities identified in the context of the EU-Bosnia and Herzegovina Structured Dialogue on Justice. According to this report, fighting against corruption and organised crime remains crucial for further advancement. The justice sector and law enforcement sector (police) are interlinked. Therefore, only an increase in capability in both sectors would cause both to function more efficiently. A well-functioning justice sector and police force will contribute towards democracy, the rule of law, human rights, international law, and the quality of the environment. Therefore, it would contribute towards freedom to live in dignity, as an integrated component of human security (see table 3.1.1.).

The EU answered the challenge of overcoming the unstable institutional design in BiH by insisting on the BiH's compliance with the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in the Sejdic-Finci case as a crucial pre-condition for the pre-accession process. However, the inability of the political elites to amend the constitution in accordance with the ruling poses difficulties for BiH in terms of the advancement towards EU membership. Currently, the country's constitution states that those who do not declare themselves as Bosniak, Bosnian Serb, or Bosnian Croat are denied the right to stand for election. Several deadlines for the amendment were not

met. The European Commission (2012a: 16) clearly states that the persistent delay in harmonising the Constitution with the ruling remains an issue of serious concern.

The amendment would certainly help BiH to progress towards the EU membership, however, the political tensions are tangible and the amendment would also mean a change of the current post-war status quo. The International Crisis Group (2012) warns that these issues are highly emotional and changes in the status quo could result in an extension of the political paralysis and possibly even lead to state failure, although a return to large-scale violence would remain unlikely.

As is observable, the EU is present in BiH through the CFSP framework and through various financial mechanisms. The well-known strategies of carrots and sticks have been used in order to help BiH to transform towards a well-functioning stable democracy.

The EU responds to threats to human security via the principle of conditionality. The EU frequently addresses the importance of political stability at various levels and on various occasions. The efforts towards modification of the current institutional design are part of the EU political strategy for BiH. However, this issue remains problematic for political elites in BiH because it might change the post-war status quo. Various financial mechanisms available to BiH contribute towards the advancement of human security. However, local actors are allowed to become beneficiaries only under certain conditions which do not always reflect the country's specifics.

## 5. Conclusion

The aim of this master's thesis was to study the concept of human security in a relation to peace and to find out to what extent the concept of human security is consistent with the concept of peace. This thesis conceptualized peace as a combination of negative (absence of direct violence) and positive peace (absence of structural violence), relying on Galtung's (1969) conceptualization. A research of the main components and interpretations of human security and an overview of the development of the concept within the UN structure provided the basis for answering the first research question. A condition for achieving human security is the achievement of a set of three interdependent and mutually influential freedoms: freedom from fear, want, and to live in dignity. These integrated aims of human security can be represented in Galtung's peace conceptualization: freedom from fear is articulated as the elimination of direct violence, freedom from want as social justice. Freedom to live in dignity represents an intermediary link and overlap between the two remaining freedoms and violations of this freedom might have negative consequences for freedom from want and/or fear. On the other hand, assurance of the freedom to live in dignity would be beneficial for both remaining freedoms, as integrated components of human security.

Moreover, human security is universal, i.e. it applies to every individual at any place and time. Attempts within the UN to approve the Declaration on the Right to Peace exist. These attempts are aiming for defining peace as a human right within the international human rights legal system. If these attempts are successful, the universal character of peace will be even more outstanding.

Economic, food, health, environmental, personal, political, and communal security represent the areas of human security's concern. After extensive research on the causes of violent conflicts, in order to achieve peace, an integrated approach towards eliminating possible causes of violent conflicts remains necessary. Additionally, various areas of the peace concern are also reflected in the areas of human security's concern.

Efforts to achieve human security and efforts to achieve peace underline the importance of cooperation among various state and non-state actors, and these efforts

also address traditional and non-traditional threats. Human security calls for comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented actions. Arguably, these kinds of actions can contribute towards an efficient achievement of peace. This thesis proved that significant interlinkages among human security, state security, human rights, development, and peace exist. Human security focuses on an individual and his/her security. As argued, international security cannot be achieved without respect for individual security, and without assuring security, it would be impossible to achieve peace. A society in which human security is assured as well as a society which is based on peace provides the conditions for respect towards human rights and efficient development, including human development.

Therefore, a clear and strong connection can be identified between peace and human security. It would be unlikely to have a peaceful society where human security would not be ensured or even violated. Moreover, it would be impossible to ensure human security without ensuring peace. These concepts overlap to a large extent; they are mutually reinforcing and they articulate similar claims. However, the audiences and contexts in which they are used may differ.

Therefore, arguments presented in the first section of this master's thesis supported the first hypothesis:

*H1: The concept of human security is consistent with the concept of peace.*

Human security has a very promising capability to reach various relevant areas of concern for peace and security, it has the power to shape political discourse, and it can consequently become a component of political strategies, statements, and concrete political actions may be based on this notion. Further on, this master's thesis provided a brief analysis on how human security may be employed in political discourse and serve as a useful framework for state as well as non-state actors in achieving peace and security. Political strategies and actions can be based on the notion of human security.

It has been claimed that human security became a new security narrative and a basis of discursive and operating principles for the EU's CFSP (Kaldor et.al. 2007) and that all EU operations have been concerned with human security (Matlary 2009:46-47). This master's thesis analysed to what extent human security and its integrated components have a basis in the lexis of the EU. Therefore, documents which determine the conduct

and strategic goals of the CFSP of the EU were analysed. The primary concern was to analyse the Treaty of Lisbon, as the document which primarily determines the objectives of the CFSP. This thesis concludes that strong parallels between the EU's lexis and the human security framework exist. Despite not mentioning human security explicitly, human security and its integrated components are implied in the CFSP strategic goals as articulated in the Treaty of Lisbon. Moreover, the Treaty of Lisbon is consistent with the crucial requirement for the conduct of political actions based on human security: cooperation. The European Security Strategy was reviewed and it is possible to conclude that the proposed conduct and instruments for the CFSP reflect human security concerns. The work of the Human Security Group was introduced.

This master's thesis studied the threats towards human security present in BiH. The GDP per capita, unemployment rate, HDI, institutional design, and consequently political stability served as indicators. This master's thesis concludes that serious threats towards human security are present in BiH.

As a potential candidate country to the EU, BiH has to fulfil certain normative criteria in order to become a full member state of the EU. Arguably, the EU uses conditionality in order to achieve progress in various fields in the country. The EU responds to various security threats which are present in BiH. Military operation EUFOR Althea contributes towards the advancement of human security. EUPM completed its mission in June 2012 and it had a positive impact on the capability of the police force in BiH. Moreover, the EU provides financial support to BiH through IPA which contributes towards the achievement of human security in the country.

Therefore, arguments presented in the second section of this master's thesis supported the second hypothesis:

*H2: The actions of the EU in BiH contribute to the treatment of threats to human security, and therefore contribute to the achievement of peace.*

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